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the nations of the world. In view of the fact, however, that the Entente Alliance includes not only Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States, but also many lesser powers whose purpose is to win the war in order to bring about permanent peace in accordance with the aims set forth by Mr. Wilson in his late addresses all of which have been substantially adopted by the Entente Allies, is not this the appropriate time to call such a conference? We have now a league of many nations to win the war in order that the peace of the World may be secured by the establishment of a concert of nations, limitation of armaments, and possibly an international force. Already we have seen these nations surrendering part of their sovereignty by making their military forces international and under one control, that of General Foch, and the same may be said to a large extent of the Allied navies. In other words, co-operation between these nations has been brought about through the stern necessity of war. Why not then, with this League as a basis, call a Conference for the purpose of formulating a plan for maintaining permanent peace after the war? The Entente Allies by their control of the sea are in a position to offer at once much to nations forming such a league, since they now dominate the ocean highways of the world, including the Panama Canal, the Suez Canal and the Straits of Gibraltar. All nations which enter the League and agree to its terms will enjoy commercial intercourse with all the nations of the League and the use of these highways, and a nation which does not accept these terms and refuses to disarm (if required), will reap its own punishment, as we cannot longer tolerate in the society of nations any which do not show their willingness to conform to the rule of law and justice in the place of force under the New World Order.

It will be a long and difficult task for any Conference to work out the details of a plan of such vast importance. It is none too early to begin preparations. Definite plans upon which the different nations can agree will require protracted discussion and mature deliberation. The representatives of each country will be obliged to refer to the home governments the various propositions for final decision and clearly much time will be consumed before any binding agreement can be concluded.

By calling the conference for the formation of a League of Nations now with the big factor of their controlling the Commerce of the World, a political strategy will be accomplished which will immediately have a most disturbing effect upon German business men, and it will give inspiration and hope for ultimate peace to an agonized world.

I appreciate that it would not be advisable to take the matter up with President Wilson until the German drive has been successfully checked and the situation has become more favorable to the Allies, as I firmly believe will be the case at an early date. The time for a conference rests in the sound discretion of the Committee. I hope it may soon come.

[We take pleasure in reprinting, in connection with the above letter, the Resolution referred to, which appears as part of the Navy Appropriations Act (H. R. 15947) of the Sixty-fourth Congress, approved August 29, 1916.—THE EDITORS.]

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided. It looks with apprehension and disfavor upon a general increase of armament throughout the world, but it realizes that no single nation can disarm, and that without a common agreement upon the subject every considerable power must maintain a relative standing in military strength.

In view of the premises, the President is authorized and requested to invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for

a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives, and such secretaries and other employees as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

THE PEACE ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY

At the regular meeting of the Executive Committee, June 28, it was voted that the field work of the Society, until now in the able charge of Directors James L. Tryon for New England, James J. Hall for the South Atlantic States, and Robert C. Root for the Pacific Coast, shall be suspended for the duration of the war, or pending future action on the part of the Committee. This action follows as a somewhat natural consequent upon the suspension of the Central West Department of the Society, under Director Harold G. Townsend, whose resignation was announced in the May *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The feeling has been growing among those who are responsible for the direction of the affairs of the Society that the excellent organization of the Society for propaganda work throughout the country, practically perfected before the war, is inadequate to meet the situation during the war, which seems to require a more centralized government and direction and which naturally concentrates upon the publication of the Society's mouthpiece, *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. The members of the Society and readers of *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* who have been accustomed to turn to the Department Directors as counsellors and friends, and as representatives of the Society in their respective districts, will now wish to direct their inquiries or other communications direct to the national headquarters, 613 Colorado Building, Washington, D. C. While it is impossible to duplicate the kindly and efficient work of the former Department Directors, who have been long experienced and have become thoroughly acquainted with their territories, it is expected by the officers of the Society that the members will accept deficiencies in this respect with the philosophic reflection that "We have a war on," and feel perhaps all the stronger obligation to aid the Society's work as much by their patience as by their good counsel and support.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

Division of Intercourse and Education

At the Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, held at Washington, D. C., on April 19, 1918, the following statement made by the President of the Endowment,

Mr. Elihu Root, was approved by the Trustees and ordered given the widest possible publicity:

The entrance of the United into the war and the progress of events since that action have made it evident that a large part of the ordinary activities of the Endowment must be ineffective at least until after the restoration of peace.

The hope of the world for international peace is concentrated first upon the prevention of German domination. As to this it has become evident practically to the point of demonstration that German domination can be prevented only by force of arms. The Endowment can play but little part in producing a result to be accomplished in this way. It has, however, endeavored to contribute what it could by taking and making public a clear and definite position in favor of the active and relentless prosecution of the war to final victory.

For the greater convenience of the Trustees, the resolutions of the Board and of the Executive Committee upon this subject are here reproduced:

RESOLVED, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States.

The Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled in annual meeting at Washington, D. C., on April 19-20, last, adopted the following resolution by unanimous vote:

"RESOLVED, That the Trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, assembled for their annual meeting, declare hereby their belief that the most effectual means of promoting durable international peace is to prosecute the war against the Imperial German Government to final victory for democracy, in accordance with the policy declared by the President of the United States."

In view of the recent events, emphasized by the widespread intrigues of the German Government to deceive and mislead the peace-loving people of the world, the Executive Committee of the Endowment unanimously reaffirms this declaration and pledges the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to the loyal support of those courses of action that will assure early, complete, and final victory for the arms of the Allied forces. The path to durable international peace on which the liberty-loving nations of the world would so gladly enter, is now blocked by the blind reliance of Germany upon the invincibility of German military power and upon its effectiveness as an instrument of international policy. This reliance must be broken before any other effective steps can be taken to secure international peace. It can be broken only by defeat.

The Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment call upon the lovers of peace to assist in every possible way in the effective prosecution of the war which has peace and not conquest for its aim.

It has become increasingly evident not only that ordinary peace propaganda is futile and out of place during the war, but that it would be positively harmful, as tending to distract the attention of the American people from concentration of effort and feeling upon the prosecution of the war.

The second point upon which the hope of international peace in the future depends is the disposition to be made after the close of the war by the representatives of the several nations which will at that time address

themselves to the restoration of peace. Officers of the Endowment have considered that the best service the Division of International Law can render to the cause of international peace is by contributing so far as possible to adequate preparation for meeting that great emergency. They consider that it will not be sufficient for representatives of the various Powers to meet and deal with the questions which will arise as matters of first impression and without thorough preparation. The Endowment has accordingly sought to bring about due preparation in two ways. In the first place, it has published or contributed to the publication of a series of works which furnish the same kind of foundation for effective consideration of the questions which will arise in a Peace Conference that Madison's Notes and Elliot's Debates, and the Federalist, and the earlier history of the development of Constitutional Law in the United States furnish for the consideration of inter-state questions in America. Until this publication many of these works were inaccessible and not widely known.

The other method of contributing to this preparation has been through active co-operation with the officers of the Government whose official positions will throw upon them responsibility for the representation of the United States in the Peace Conference. At the meeting of April 19, 1917, the Board of Trustees adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offers to the Government the services of its Division of International Law, its personnel and equipment, for dealing with the pressure of international business incident to the war.

That offer was accepted; and in effect the entire personnel and plant of the Division of International Law is being used by the Government, and the activities of this institution are practically serving the Government in making real, thorough, and scientific preparation for exercising the influence of the United States after the close of the war, and that activity is taking the place of agitation for peace, which we adjure until the war is won.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY OF JAPAN

The latest issue of the society's joint publication to reach this country, the April number of *The Japan Peace Movement*, contains not a little significant material. The leading article summarizes the opinions of eighteen leading Japanese, appearing recently in the Tokyo *Taiyo*, as to Japan's part in the war and her reasons for entering it. Seven of the eighteen feel that no change has come to Japan's attitude, but that she still acts as "Home Guard" for the Orient. A second group see the hand of the Kaiser stretched across Asia as a result of the fall of Russia, and perceive a consequent need for a stiffening of Japan's policy. A third group have the interesting view that while Japan understands the Allies' desire to destroy German militarism, she does not wholly share in the correlative views of the Western Powers. She does not look at militarism in the same way, nor are her ideas of democracy by any means identical. Just what this last means may or may not be explained in the following article in this paper, in

which an article in *Jitsugyo-no-Nippon* (*Commercial Japan*), a symposium of the views of several leading business men, professors and military men, is summarized. Here the firm conviction is expressed that military achievement is the key-note of the immediate future after the war. Germany will be more than ever convinced of the necessity of arms, France and America will not lay down the swords they have learned to wield so well, nor will Great Britain. "Unless backed by armed resistance we shall be allowed no voice in the peace negotiations of the great war," says one business man fearfully. One voice, however, is raised for a broader view, that of Dr. Yoshino of the Imperial University, who urges that, "We cannot, from our narrow outlook on this war, realize how deep-rooted is the desire of the people for peace, which to them is the ultimate purpose of the war. To realize the true motive of the Allies, we must turn from the battle-field and its demonstrations of military strength and look at the spirit with which the people are backing up the war. Until we realize their true purpose, we cannot understand what vitality lies back of such post-bellum peace measures as an enforced peace, the curtailments of armaments, and the like."

JOINING THE ISSUE

BELLOWS FALLS, VT., June 25, 1918.

To the Editor.

SIR: I have just received and read with great pleasure the June number of my *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and trust I may be allowed to express my hearty approbation of its editorials which I consider very strong and most excellently reasoned articles.

I have for many years been a member of the American Peace Society and a reader of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. I believe in peace between nations as the goal of society now as much as ever; but I see no way to such a state except through the overthrow of German militarism. So long as that remains unsubdued, so long all hope for peace is vain—a dream of men whose sentiments govern them, rather than reason.

I was very glad for the policy adopted by yourself in the December number last year in the editorial "Win and End the War." Such a policy is the only one which will recommend our principles to practical men.

Even Christianity has been largely misunderstood in its relation to war. Its cardinal principle of love makes it imperative that every Christian and every Christian nation shall fight against evil. For love means not only love of the wrong-doer but of the right-doer and in every conflict between them the Christian must side with the right doer. So the Christian principle of love demands of us a love of right, justice, etc., and this includes a readiness to use every effort to maintain them, else our love is worthless. God is love; but he smites the wrong-doer with utmost severity by the very laws of his kingdom; but he does it in love. The use of force, as in war, is or should be utterly different from hating. We must not hate even the German, as we fight him; but hate his wrong thinking and evil acts. We are fighting him not merely to overcome him; but for his own good; this is true love.

I have set forth these ideas in a paper read before several ministerial unions upon "When War is Consistent with Christian Ethics." It seems to have helped many to clarify their ideas.

Am much pleased to note your own attitude and hope this word of appreciation, even from one unknown, may encourage you a little in the face of what must be a trying situation.

Sincerely Yours,

R. F. JOHNNOT.

CINCINNATI, OHIO, June 25, 1918.

To the Editor.

SIR: Have just finished reading your June *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*. I believe you are doing truly constructive work and have every reason to feel encouraged. I particularly enjoyed your article on James Brown Scott.

With personal regards, C. JAY WOHLGEMUTH.

OTTUMWA, IOWA, June 15, 1918.

To the Editor.

SIR: Please find enclosed check for one dollar covering current year's subscription. I appreciate the *ADVOCATE* very highly and can not afford to be without it. I am more than pleased with the strong support it gives our Government in its supreme effort to establish a world-wide unbreakable peace.

Hoping for its continued prosperity and that the day may speedily come when nations will be compelled to submit their difficulties to world-tribunals for adjudication,

I am yours fraternally,

R. O. BAILEY.

NEVADA CITY, CALIF., June 23, 1918.

To the Editor.

SIR: Enclosed please find fifty cents (\$.50), payment due from N. C. H. S. Debating Club for "ADVOCATE OF PEACE."

The material contained therein proved of winning value in our debate.

Thanking you most kindly,

I am, most truly yours, BAYLISS B. LINDLEY,
Secy. Nevada City High School Debating Society.

MIAGAO, ILOILO, P. I., April 7th, 1918.

To the Editor.

SIR: In reply to your communication recently received by me on April 1st, 1918, for the present, I am extending you my great thanks for your kind services recently rendered to me in sending some of your pamphlets of international peace literature after request for the same had been duly sent to you for prompt reply and kind consideration. All of which, as my present acknowledgment to you, are of utmost importance to me for I as a pacifist, like to learn or be taught by the doctrine of international pacifism they scientifically advocated.

Therefore, by the moral influence of those pamphlets as freely distributed and by the perpetual glorious aspiration of your Society, may the nations of the earth, not learn any more war, for it is the greatest hell on earth—the decrease of mankind, the bankruptcy of nations and the sorrows of humanity are the evils it effects.

Very cordially yours,

GERMANICO MONTECLARO.